The University of Chicago

ROUND TABLE

PROPERTY OF THE
LIBRARY OF THE
MAY 21
WOMAN'S COLLEGE
UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA

A RADIO DISCUSSION OF

BLITZKRIEG

PETER DRUCKER · HARLEY MacNAIR · CLIFTON UTLEY

245th BROADCAST IN COOPERATION WITH THE NATIONAL BROADCASTING COMPANY • 113

MAY 12, 1940

The University of Chicago

ROUND TABLE

Published weekly. 10 cents a copy; five copies, 25 cents; half-year subscription, 26 issues, one dollar. Published by the University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois. Entered as second-class matter January 3, 1939, at the post office at Chicago, Illinois, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

No. 113

NOTE

The supplementary information contained in the footnotes to the following text, developed by staff research, is not to be considered as representing the opinions of the ROUND TABLE *speakers. Following the transcript of the broadcast are questions which readers may wish to use for analysis and discussion. It is hoped that teachers and discussion leaders may find this additional service of the* ROUND TABLE *transcript helpful in their study of the subject discussed in the broadcast.*

BLITZKRIEG*

A UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO ROUND TABLE BROADCAST

•

PETER DRUCKER, Former Financial Editor, *Frankfurter Generalanzeiger*

HARLEY F. MACNAIR, Professor of Far Eastern History and Institutions, University of Chicago

CLIFTON M. UTLEY, Director, Chicago Council of Foreign Relations†

* A radio discussion broadcast from the University of Chicago over the Red Network of the National Broadcasting Company, Sunday, May 12, 1940, at 1:30 P.M., Central Daylight Saving Time.

The ROUND TABLE, oldest educational program continuously on the air, is broadcast entirely without a script. Subjects are chosen because of their social, political, or economic significance. The program has no "ax to grind." In the selection of speakers, the effort is to provide a balanced discussion by participants who have special competence and knowledge. The opinion of each speaker is his own and in no way involves the responsibility of either the University of Chicago or the National Broadcasting Company.

† Mr. Utley is a graduate of The University of Chicago. He received a Ph.B. degree in the Department of Political Science in 1926.

BLITZKRIEG

•

With each new extension of the European war the University of Chicago ROUND TABLE *has brought experts to its microphone to re-examine the position of the United States in a world in disorder, to reconsider national policy, and to evaluate public opinion.*

As German mechanized units rolled swiftly across the frontiers of neutral Luxembourg, Belgium, and the Netherlands, a scheduled ROUND TABLE *broadcast was put aside to permit a discussion of the latest developments abroad.* Three authorities, whose background and experience fit them peculiarly for the task, were chosen to consider the effects on America of Germany's latest "Blitzkrieg."*

•

MR. UTLEY: Once again our radios resume the melancholy geography lesson. Last fall it was Poland and we learned such names as Katowice and Gdynia. Only a fortnight ago it was Norway and we were talking of Andalsnes and Namsos. Now today it is Liege, after twenty-five years, that everyone thinks of, and Malines, and other names in Belgium and Holland.

MR. DRUCKER: And don't forget that the Dutch East Indies are also involved, including names like Java and Batavia and Sumatra; and the Belgian Congo, deep in the heart of Africa, may be involved.

MR. MACNAIR: This leads to the question, it seems to me, first of all, of why did Hitler attack at the moment he did. Couldn't

---

* *The scheduled discussion "Babies Cost Money!" was postponed until May 26.*

he have waited a few months? Couldn't he have done this a few months ago? Why did he choose this particular moment?

MR. DRUCKER: You know, that question goes into the motives of men who haven't told us their motives and haven't told us their reasons.

MR. MACNAIR: But can't we guess them?

MR. DRUCKER: I think we may try to speculate about their motives but we won't get very far. For instance, very many people have been saying that Germany, in spite of its victories, has been growing weaker and weaker internally; the pressure has been growing; the economic situation has become worse. And one explanation you hear quite often—it isn't mine but you hear it quite often—is that he is fighting in order to relieve pressure internally.

MR. MACNAIR: But can't the other side of that be taken just as reasonably? Isn't it possible that Hitler is so cheered up over the situation with respect to Norway, and the situations which preceded Norway, that he says: "Now for the *coup de grace!* Now I will finish these English and French!"

MR. UTLEY: Both of you have good points. Either explanation might be just as true as the other one and we could talk for hours and never determine whether it is desperation and foreboding of pending defeat that caused Hitler to launch this new *blitzkrieg* or cocksureness of victory, so perhaps the best thing that we can do is turn away from the speculative and go to those fields where we really have some certainty: the real picture.

MR. DRUCKER: The first question that I would have would then be: What can Hitler gain from the Low Countries—provided he really succeeds in occupying them?

MR. MACNAIR: You mean economically?

MR. UTLEY: Always! It seems to me he might hope to make certain economic gains and obtain certain military advantages.

MR. DRUCKER: Personally, knowing the economic situation in Holland and Belgium, I don't think he would gain anything economically that he hasn't got yet.

MR. UTLEY: It's perfectly true that the talk in the newspapers in the last couple of days has been much more in terms of military advantages, but the field of economics should not be ignored altogether. The Dutch, I believe, do produce a lot of food: a lot of butter, a lot of cheese, a lot of other products. Germany certainly gets those.[1]

MR. DRUCKER: But Germany did get those in the past as well. Germany got sixty per cent of the Dutch butter, and maybe Germany will get—provided they win—the stocks in Holland and Belgium and Luxembourg, if the destruction isn't too great.

MR. MACNAIR: But doesn't she also now take over the responsibilities within the next few months of having to feed the Belgians and the Dutch?

MR. DRUCKER: Yes, eighteen million people—and, if the Germans don't let them starve, they must have something to eat.[2]

MR. MACNAIR: Who—the Germans, or those that are starving?

MR. DRUCKER: Those that are starving must get a little bit, at least, and neither Holland nor Belgium are self-supporting in foodstuffs.

---

[1] *Wheat, rye, oats, barley, and sugar beets are the most important Dutch crops; butter production totals approximately 45,000,000 pounds per year, cheese around 55,000,000 pounds. The livestock census of 1938 showed 2,750,000 cattle in the Netherlands, 1,500,000 pigs, 300,000 horses, and 650,000 sheep.*

[2] *7,935,000 in the Netherlands (1930 census), 300,000 in Luxembourg (1935), and 8,361,220 in Belgium (1937 estimates).*

MR. UTLEY: Let me back around from the other angle, then. read the other day in a newspaper that the British Food Administation had decided to cut the average butter ration in Britain from ight to four ounces, largely in consequence of the fact that the anish butter can no longer reach England.[3] The Dutch sent a lot of utter to England, didn't they?[4]

MR. DRUCKER: That is true.

MR. UTLEY: If the Dutch butter can no longer go to England, on't that be a further cut in the butter ration?

MR. DRUCKER: It probably will, temporarily, but England—aving command of the sea—can always import butter from Ausalia, whereas the Germans, having no command of the sea, have get their butter from countries like Denmark and Holland, which e completely dependent on import of products for their cattle.[5]

MR. MACNAIR: I feel rather sorry for the English if they have come down to tinned butter from Australia. I lived in Shanghai r a number of years and when we could not get any other butter e fell to tinned butter from Australia. Well, I couldn't tell you er the radio what it tastes like.

MR. DRUCKER: Can't you now send butter in refrigerator ips?

---

[3] *For a discussion of the economic motivations and the anticipated onomic results of the German invasion of Denmark, see the* ROUND ABLE *broadcast of April 14, 1940—"Scandinavia on the Spot."*

[4] *Pre-war exports to Great Britain from the Netherlands were largely odstuffs, consisting, in 1937, of butter £3,300,000, bacon £2,070,000, gs £1,950,000, condensed milk £1,350,000, and other products.*

[5] *In 1937 butter represented the second most important export from ustralia to England, totalling £7,500,000 and being exceeded only by w wool exports totalling £20,400,000.*

MR. MACNAIR: Perhaps you can, but you couldn't in the old days.

MR. UTLEY: You'd rather spread Canadian butter awfully thin than eat the Australian stuff, I take it.

MR. MACNAIR: Absolutely!

MR. UTLEY: Well, if you can't get any explanation of the invasion in terms of food needs, Drucker, how about industry? Luxembourg has one of the biggest steel industries in the world, hasn't she? Germany gets that now, doesn't she?[6]

MR. DRUCKER: But Germany did get the Luxembourg steel all the time. In addition, the Luxembourg steel, too, is very largely based on ore imported from France, which now will cease to go to Luxembourg. So now, on the whole, I would say that Germany may get quick assets—for about three months or six months. I was in Holland two years ago and visited the largest dairy. Well, they produced butter. All of it went to Germany, but they had to import seventy-five per cent of the fodder for their cattle. In other words, three out of four cows live on fodder imported from this country or imported from the tropics, which will no longer be available. How long will these cows continue to give milk?

MR. UTLEY: So from the economic point of view Germany gets largely what she already got and what there is some doubt about her continuing to get, and she still has to conquer Belgium and Holland in order to get it—which she has by no means accomplished yet.

MR. MACNAIR: And if she does conquer Belgium and Holland she still has to assume the task of feeding the Dutch and the Belgians.

---

[6] *Luxembourg produced about 1,500,000 metric tons of pig iron and an equal amount of steel in 1938.*

MR. UTLEY: So we can toss the economic explanation of this *blitzkrieg* largely, but not entirely, out of the window.

MR. DRUCKER: I think so. I think it is possible that the German theory—which I don't know—is that of the locust which descends upon a field and then goes on to the next one. I wouldn't call that an economic explanation, although that may be what is happening.

MR. UTLEY: Then if it isn't an economic explanation it is probably a military one. One has, it seems to me, the following possibilities: (1) that Germany is trying to get air bases to extend a new *blitzkrieg* against England. . . . .

MR. MACNAIR: But I thought she had already obtained plenty of air bases from Norway.

MR. UTLEY: Well, the Norwegian bases are certainly somewhat nearer to England than the nearest German air bases before this *blitzkrieg* started but, as I recall, if you could get all of Belgium and Holland you'd have bases within 130 miles of Great Britain, whereas my recollection (I won't swear to this) is that the Norwegian bases are about 350 miles from England.[7]

MR. DRUCKER: I think more important even than the distance is the fact that the Norwegian bases are near Scotland whereas the channel ports would be bases from which they could try to

---

[7] *Bergen is just over 300 miles from Aberdeen, 300 miles from the Orkney Islands (and Scapa Flow naval base), and about 400 miles from Edinburgh; Stavanger, the German-held Norwegian port so frequently bombed by the British, is 375 miles from Edinburgh, 300 miles from Aberdeen, and 300 miles from the Orkneys. The industrial areas of the Midlands and the Thames Valley are considerably closer to air bases in Germany than to any established in the German-occupied sections of Scandinavia. Ostend (in Belgium) is about 130 miles from London, 400 from Birmingham, and 250 from Liverpool and Manchester.*

cut the communications between England and France. It is only about 120 miles from Ostend to London, but it is probably only 20 miles from Ostend to the main shipping channel between the British channel ports and the French channel ports. I think that is far more important militarily than an attack on England.

MR. MACNAIR: You don't think it's a question, then, of being more important to kill off the English than to kill off the Scotch?

MR. DRUCKER: It is more important to disrupt communication between England and France than to attack Scotland.

MR. UTLEY: Basically, is it not a question of wrecking the vital English ports where the maximum of British imports enter and exports of soldiers leave?

MR. DRUCKER: Export of soldiers is perhaps more important than the import of goods.

MR. MACNAIR: But how about rounding the end of the Maginot Line? We hear a great deal about that. Does that have anything to do with the present subject?

MR. DRUCKER: Well, that would be the 1914 plan again.[8] Not being a military expert I don't know how feasible it is. You have all heard about the Belgian fortifications. They are said to be very much stronger than they were in 1914. I don't know much about that.

MR. UTLEY: Whether it is feasible or not is a question we will

---

[8] *The so-called Schlieffen plan, which envisaged a sweep through Belgium and an attack on northern France, culminating in the seizure of Paris. It was presumed the surrender of Paris would mean the collapse of French resistance. To accomplish this plan the largest number of German troops were concentrated for the sweep through Belgium, those stationed on the left German flank serving only as a protective force to keep the French from breaking through into southern Germany.*

have to learn from the news dispatches we will hear in the next two days, ten days, or possibly three weeks' time. But in any event, it is quite clear that that is what Germany plans to do. It seems to me that Hitler's plans are never this or this, but it's this and, *if possible*, this. But here he is trying a *blitzkrieg* against England to get a base for further air bombardments there. At the same time he gets a base, if he can get Belgium and Holland, where he can—well, in football terms (which, perhaps, at the University of Chicago we shouldn't use any more), stage an end run around the French Maginot Line. He can do both—simultaneously.

MR. DRUCKER: I think in addition to that you should remember that Hitler's theory—especially his military theory—is based on the idea of the permanent revolution.

MR. UTLEY: That's an interesting idea. What is that?

MR. DRUCKER: The idea is very simple. The idea is to keep trouble alive and create more; spread trouble on a worldwide basis, because that enables you to advance your own movement and your own machine under cover of the public.

MR. MACNAIR: Does that apply to the United States? Do you think he is trying to stir up additional trouble with us?

MR. DRUCKER: As a foreigner I don't know enough about the United States policy.

MR. MACNAIR: How about it, Utley?

MR. UTLEY: It seems to me that his stirring up of trouble definitely does affect the United States. We are certainly much more tangibly affected by this Belgian and Dutch invasion than we have been before in any number of ways.

MR. MACNAIR: Do you sense any change of opinion since the *blitzkrieg* on Holland and Belgium began?

MR. UTLEY: I think there has been a progression. Finland

was a great shock to this country. Norway was a still greater shock. The Low Countries' invasion has been a further shock, and every one of those shocks—and one says this rather advisedly, and after some consideration—it seems to me, has pushed this country somewhat nearer war and has pushed public opinion into a more understanding—I won't say receptive—mood. One fumbles for words (it's hard to express) but, whereas a few weeks ago you heard everyone saying: "We are not going to war; we'll not go to war under any circumstances," you hear practically everyone—in this part of the country at least—saying, "We don't want to go to war," but talking more in terms of being dragged in.

MR. MACNAIR: But I understand, though only from reading the papers and from hearsay, that the feeling in New York, for example, is much more definite even than it is in Chicago.

MR. UTLEY: I was in New York City last week and I was amazed to find how much farther the people I saw have gone in their readiness to accept war. A few will go so far as to say, "I think we ought to go in." Most will not go that far, but they put it in a sort of fatalistic way: "Well, this fire is spreading like a brush-tree fire everywhere. It's going to involve us; we are going to be dragged in."

While I deplore that, it seems to me, to a certain extent, that is the way of people who have made up their minds that they perhaps ought to get in. Without saying, "We want to go in," they say, "We are going to be dragged in; it is going to be taken out of our hands."

MR. MACNAIR: I would say, from the limited knowledge that I have of United States foreign policy, that possibly this new form of *blitzkrieg* has attacked us on two sides of our policy. We hear a great deal about the Monroe Doctrine;[9] we hear a great deal about

---

[9] *The American attitude toward foreign influence and colonization of the Americas was stated by President James Monroe in a message to Congress, December 2, 1823. The message read in part: ". . . . the*

MAJOR FORTIFICATIONS IN THE FAR EAST

● NAVAL AND AIR BASES ▲ MILITARY POSTS

the "Open Door": the Monroe Doctrine in the New World with special reference to the New World; the "Open Door" with more special reference to the Far East. Don't you think that both of those policies are somewhat hit by the attack upon Holland in particular, and also Belgium?

American continents, ... are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers." The full text of the "Monroe Doctrine" is found in the ROUND TABLE *transcript (No. 83) "International Law—What Is It?"*

MR. UTLEY: Yes, I believe they are. The Monroe Doctrine, of course, is the question of the Dutch West Indies, and it is interesting that the Allies landed troops in the Dutch West Indies yesterday, which, apparently, hasn't shocked this country very much. But, under the Monroe Doctrine, we certainly would not allow sovereignty to pass from Holland to any other European nation.[10]

MR. DRUCKER: Are the Dutch West Indies pretty near the Panama Canal?

MR. UTLEY: They are rather near the Panama Canal, but I think few Americans are immediately worried about that because we know we can handle that. If we have to we can send the navy down there and take them. It's like the case of Greenland when Denmark was invaded. Germany is too preoccupied to do anything about them if she wanted.[11] In the Far East, the Dutch East Indies are—many Americans think—quite vital to our American interests, and while Germany certainly is not in position to take them, Japan might be.

MR. MACNAIR: There you hit the nail on the head and, while you have been hitting the nail on the head today, some people think Secretary of State Hull was hitting it a fortnight or so ago—which might lead us to think that the State Department had some foreshadowings with respect to the plans of Germany on Holland. More especially, you will remember the remarks of the Japanese Foreign Minister, Mr. Arita.

---

[10] *The Dutch West Indies comprise the islands of the Curaçao colony (Curaçao, Aruba, Bonaire, the northern half of St. Martin, St. Eustatius, and Saba) and Dutch Guiana on the South American mainland. The island population is 91,000. The population of Guiana is 171,000.*

[11] *For data on Greenland, see the* ROUND TABLE *broadcast April 14, 1940, "Scandinavia on the Spot."*

MR. UTLEY: What did he say?

MR. MACNAIR: Arita pointed out that it was a matter of great interest to Japan that there should be no change in the status quo of the Dutch East Indies. That was—if I remember correctly—on the 15th of April. Then two days later the Secretary, who, apparently, had to take about forty-eight hours to get over his first gasp, came out with a parallel statement which has been described by some as a masterpiece of American diplomacy: the type which most people forget that America can bring out on occasions, and more generally attribute to the English.

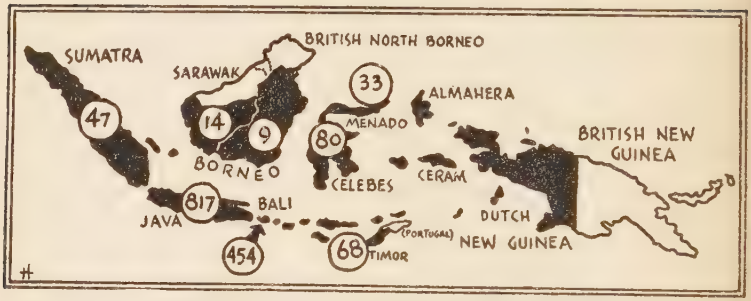
MR. UTLEY: Then, as I recall, just yesterday Mr. Hull issued a re-enforcing statement in the light of the new developments.

MR. MACNAIR: Precisely! Re-enforcing what he had said on the 17th, to the effect that the United States would feel that it was extremely unfortunate for any change in the status quo to be made with respect to the Dutch East Indies by other than peaceful means because, as he remarked, it would upset not merely that area of the world in which the Indies are located but the whole Pacific area.

MR. UTLEY: I think we can see then that our American interests are affected by this new *blitzkrieg* in three possible ways. First is the fact that the *blitzkrieg* is against Belgium and Holland, which has a bearing on American sentiment. We can't measure that bearing, but it is there. That's an intangible. Second, there is the effect upon American interests under the Monroe Doctrine. That is, the Dutch colonies in this hemisphere where the Allies landed troops May 11. We think we can take care of that without any trouble. Third, there is this even more vital question of our interests in the Dutch East Indies.

I don't know much about the Dutch East Indies. You have spent much of your life studying Far Eastern questions, MacNair, and you have lived a great many years there. Would you mind if

NETHERLANDS INDIES
MOST DENSELY POPULATED LANDS



FIGURES INDICATE POPULATION PER SQUARE MILE

Drucker and I simply ask you a number of questions about that part of the world?

MR. MACNAIR: Fire away!

MR. UTLEY: First—where are they?

MR. MACNAIR: They are at the crossroads between East and West, North and South, off the Southeastern corner of Asia. The ships which are passing from the Pacific Ocean into the Indian Ocean, and vice versa, must go by them or through them. The ships which are going from China and Australia must go by them, through them, or around them.

MR. DRUCKER: Or from India to this country.

MR. MACNAIR: Furthermore, you have—aside from their remarkably strategic location—the vast bulk of the islands. They cover not only a tremendous area from the point of view of longitude and latitude, but actually they are larger than Germany, France, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Spain, Portugal, Belgium, and Switzerland combined.[12]

---

[12] *The total area of the islands is 735,000 square miles; the population is just under 61,000,000 (1930 census), including 240,000 Euro-*

MR. DRUCKER: I never realized they were as large as that. How many people are involved? Could the Japanese send emigrants there? I understand that the population question is one of the main motives of Japanese conquest.

MR. MACNAIR: That's a delicate question. Perhaps you would like to qualify whether the emigrants are to be civilian or military.

MR. DRUCKER: Is it a land where you could settle a large number of surplus Japanese population, or are the islands already heavily populated?

MR. MACNAIR: Some of the Islands—particularly Java—are extremely heavily populated. Java has the heaviest population per square mile in the world, but there are other parts which are thinly populated.

MR. UTLEY: What are some of the other important parts of the Dutch East Indies?

MR. MACNAIR: There is Sumatra, Dutch New Guinea, the Celebes, Borneo—that is, Netherlands Borneo—Banka and Billiton (which are famous for their great tin deposits), and finally, of course, dear old Bali, which is so important to the moving pictures.

MR. UTLEY: You mention tin. What are the other important resources of the Dutch East Indies?

MR. MACNAIR: Well, you ask a mouthful, shall I say?

MR. UTLEY: Well, the most important one.

MR. MACNAIR: Both inside the mouth and outside the mouth. Coffee, sugar, tea, rubber, tin, oil, and quinine—quinine, without

---

beans and 1,350,000 Orientals (mainly Chinese). Java, with a population of 821 persons per square mile, is the most densely populated place in the world.

NETHERLANDS INDIES: PREPARED

3RD LARGEST PURCHASER OF U.S. ARMS AND IMPLEMENTS OF WAR IN 1939

EACH COMPLETE SYMBOL EQUALS 10 MILLION DOLLARS

which the world shakes with worse than the jitters from a Japanese headache.

MR. DRUCKER: Are these raw materials the main reason why Japan is interested in them?

MR. MacNAIR: Primarily, I should say. Japan is dependent upon them in a variety of ways because, first of all, she does not

have the rubber and the tin and the other tropical products which she must have—especially oil. She has, as you know, been getting a great part of her oil from the United States, but since the end of January the United States has been holding, as it were, a sword of Damocles over the head of Japan, saying: "We will not make a new trade treaty with you and we will continue to sell you these goods only as long as we wish." If the United States should decide to stop selling oil to Japan then the only other great source of oil would be the Dutch East Indies.

MR. UTLEY: We see now why they are important to Japan. Why are they so important to us?

MR. MACNAIR: For the reason that was implied a moment ago with respect to Japan, by a simple turning of the tables. As I said a moment ago, we have been holding a Damoclean sword over the head of Japan. That is, by saying if, if, if, we *may* make an embargo. But *if*, again, the Japanese were able to take over the Dutch East Indies they would be able to turn the tables on us and render us impotent, practically speaking, by cutting off our great supplies of tin and rubber. We are absolutely dependent upon the Dutch East Indies for tin and rubber.

MR. UTLEY: We need tin and rubber. Then this problem is a double one. While the Indies are in neutral hands we can both get what we need. If either of us gets the islands, one can embargo the other.

MR. MACNAIR: There is also Great Britain. You must bear in mind that Japan is also worrying a little bit over the possibility of the British taking the Dutch East Indies.

MR. DRUCKER: You seem to be talking power politics with vengeance, and perhaps my question is a foolish one: Can the Dutch East Indies not defend themselves, at least to a reasonable degree, against Japan, or would it just be a walk-away?

NETHERLANDS INDIES EXPORTS: 1937

EACH COMPLETE SYMBOL EQUALS 10 MILLION DOLLARS

MR. MACNAIR: It would not, I think, be anything like a walk-away. It is very easy for us to glibly talk about the ease with which Japan may drop down, as we say, to the Dutch East Indies; but it's a three-thousand-mile drop.

MR. DRUCKER: So it means, then, that an air force, for instance, could not fly down from Japan to the Indies? It is definitely out of the bomber range?

MR. MACNAIR: The nearest point from which a flight could be made by the Japanese is 850 miles. If you remember that 850 miles is approximately the distance in China from Canton to the Burma border, where the new road leading from Burma to China is; and if you remember that the Japanese thus far have been quite unable to interfere with that new road—then you can see it is by no means a simple little matter of flying down and dropping into the Dutch East Indies.

MR. DRUCKER: I understand there are about 61,000,000 people in the Dutch East Indies—mostly natives—and about 250,000 white men there. Haven't the Dutch armed the East Indian population? Have they built any fortifications and naval bases? Have they got a navy?

MR. MACNAIR: They have indeed! Not a navy in terms of the great powers; not an army in terms of the armies of the great powers, but they do have troops numbering somewhere between forty and seventy thousand, officered very largely by Dutch. They have somewhere between 150 and 200 bombers; at least three cruisers; eight destroyers; an unknown number, between 15 and 20, submarines; and 42 torpedo boats. Enough, I think, is indicated by what I have listed to show that they could do quite a bit to the Japanese before the Japanese could come in and overrun the islands. Meanwhile their allies would be bringing up further supplies from Malaysia, India, Australia—and possibly from the United States.

MR. UTLEY: And even if Holland, the home country, were overrun completely, the Dutch East Indies can support themselves in foodstuffs and other things and live divorced from the home country?

MR. MACNAIR: They don't have to worry about food supplies.

The country is one of the richest in the world from every possible angle. You might remember that the people lived there, perhaps with a tolerable degree of happiness, for a thousand years before the Dutch were ever heard of.[13]

MR. DRUCKER: We have heard that the Dutch East Indies could defend themselves reasonably, but to what extent has the defense been organized? I remember having read something about the building of naval and air bases.

MR. MACNAIR: They have several air bases. They have not developed the great naval base they planned, and you may have noticed references about two or three months ago in the American press to the protests which the Japanese were making to the plans of the Dutch to build a great naval base.

MR. UTLEY: You have talked for a few moments now about defense from the point of view of military and naval matters. Isn't there another type of defense that the Dutch East Indies has at their disposal that exists even though Holland vanishes completely? It is something like what Rumania has. Germany can invade Rumania if she wants to—we all know that—but King Carol has the ace in the hole when he can say, "The second you come in I'll destroy all my oil wells: pour concrete into them, blow up the pumping stations." Can't the Dutch exercise that same threat?

MR. MACNAIR: Exactly! And it is extremely interesting that two years ago—long before this recent affair was even dreamed of—the Dutch announced (or at least it was announced for them) that in case of the invasion of the islands by any power the first move would be to destroy the oil supplies.

MR. DRUCKER: In view of what you have been saying, it

---

[13] *The Netherlands East India Company, organized in 1602, conquered and ruled the Dutch East Indies for nearly two centuries. With its dissolution in 1798, the rule of this area passed into government hands.*

ems to me that the Japanese, of course, know all this just as well and must consider it a very serious gamble to go there. They are bogged down in China with their army. Would they be likely to send their navy three thousand miles to engage in another fight?

MR. MacNAIR: There, of course, you touch upon a really delicate point—a point which undoubtedly is interesting the United States, and that is this: That while the Japanese army has bogged down in China and has lost, and is losing, a great deal of face and a good deal more than face—sometimes it looks as if they were losing their pants—the Japanese navy has had very little activity, except the one or two little whacks it took at Shanghai. It is quite possible that the Japanese navy may decide—regardless of what Mr. Arita says—to make one grand attempt to get a great deal of face and, in view of the losses on the continent of Asia, to build up a whole new empire on the islands off the continent of Asia.

MR. UTLEY: Gentlemen, let's see where we stand now in this discussion of Hitler's newest *blitzkrieg*. We don't know why Hitler did it. Perhaps he was forced to it by economic or other desperations. Perhaps he was cocky and so sure he could win that he undertook it. We do know that the *blitzkrieg* was not caused by economic motives. We know that the motives were to get air bases against England, submarine bases against England; to turn the French flank to make an end run around the Maginot Line, and also—as you, Drucker, say—for the purpose of making trouble anywhere. We must listen to our loud speakers and the news flashes to know how the battle is going at the moment, but it is never too early to try to see how this *blitzkrieg* is going to affect our American interests, and to this, as Americans, we have devoted a large part of this talk today. We see it affects our public opinion, possibly pushing more in the direction of war. We hope not—we don't know. We see it affects Dutch colonies in the realm of the Monroe Doctrine. And, finally, we see that the Dutch East Indies—where we have very direct concern due to the Philippines and other interests—are affected, but we hope that effect will not lead to war in the Pacific.

OBJECTIVE QUESTIONS FOR EXAMINATION

The answers to the following questions may be found in the text of the broadcast, and page references are provided to assist in locating the answers.

*

1. Name two large colonies (one Belgian, one Dutch) affected by the German invasion of the Low Countries. Page 2.

2. What reasons are suggested for the invasion of Belgium and the Netherlands? Pages 3–4.

3. How long is it estimated the available supply of goods in the Low Countries will benefit Germany if her invasion is successful? Page 6.

4. How do possible Dutch bases for air attack against England compare with bases the Germans now hold in Norway? Page 7.

5. What is the theory of "permanent revolution"? Page 9.

6. The Western Hemisphere colonies of what two European nations have become of particular interest to the United States because of the Monroe Doctrine? Page 12.

7. Where (and of what size) are the Dutch East Indies? Page 14.

8. Name five important products coming from the Dutch East Indies. Page 15.

9. What two strategic raw materials imported by the United States are obtained mainly from the Dutch East Indies? Page 17.

10. What defense forces (land, sea, and air) do the Dutch have available in the East Indies? Page 19.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

The following questions of wider scope, intended for discussion, are suggested by the broadcast, and answers may be found in the literature on the subject listed in the section "Suggested Readings," found on page 24.

*

1. Do you agree that the Hitler technique of "create trouble and keep trouble alive where it exists" is responsible for the latest Nazi invasion? Or would you place the emphasis on economic, or perhaps military, reasons? If a combination of these, which do you consider the most important?

2. Do you think Americans are tending to consider American entry in this war inevitable? If so, what factors do you believe are impelling people toward such a viewpoint? Regardless of how you evaluate public opinion on this question, do you personally think America will be drawn into the war? Discuss.

3. Realizing the position of the Dutch East Indies in relation to Japan's program of the "new order" in the Orient, what do you think America's position ought to be toward these Netherlands possessions:
   a) Protect their independence against aggression with the American navy.
   b) Protect them with economic embargoes and diplomatic pressure, directed against any nation trying to seize them.
   c) Guarantee non-intervention if their present status is changed.

4. What should the United States attitude be toward European possessions in the Western Hemisphere?

SUGGESTED READINGS

GREENE, MARC T., "Lifeblood of the Netherlands," *Asia*, December, 1939. *The Dutch East Indies quickly surveyed as to their historical and economic background.*

KIRALFY, ALEXANDER, "Can Japan Take the Indies?" *Asia*, February, 1940. *A study of the strategic position and defense capacity of the Dutch East Indies.*

LIDDELL HART, CAPT. B. H., "The Defense of the Left Flank," *Living Age*, March, 1940. *Great Britain's best known military writer considers the problems of a German invasion of Belgium and Holland and what such an invasion would mean to the Allies.*

LINKE, LILO, "The Defenses of the Dutch," *Fortnightly*, June, 1939. *An examination of preparations to withstand invasion, with some attention to leftist and fascist organizations and their strength in the nation.*

REQUETTE, LT.-COL. C., "The Low Countries and the European War," *Atlantic*, May, 1940. *An outline of the strategic position of Belgium, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands in relation to Germany, and a comparison of the present situation with that of 1914 in terms of available men and material for combating a German invasion.*

VANDERBREGGEN, CORNELIUS, JR., "Holland Looks to Her Dikes," *Current History*, April, 1940. *The Dutch plan for resisting German invasion outlined and discussed with particular attention to the defense uses of the dikes.*

VAN ZEELAND, PAUL, "Aims of Recent Belgian Foreign Policy," *Foreign Affairs*, October, 1939. *The former Belgian Prime Minister reviews his nation's foreign policy since 1936, and re-states the Belgian determination to resist any attack.*

The Listeners' Round Table . . . .

Letters to the ROUND TABLE *frequently contain sidelights on the subject matter discussed on the air. These comments are from letters received following the broacast May 5, "The Trojan Horse."*

*

Definitions, Please

Would it avail me anything if I were request that you, at some future convenient time, devote a session to the definition of Naziism? Just what is it? Is it a philosophy; a religion; a new economic or political system of government—or what have you? What are the German people expecting or hoping to get out of it? Why is the press of this country so profoundly silent as to the nature of this cult? If it is too sacred or sinister to be discussed, or analyzed, why talk about it at all?

I think you will concede the futility of condemnation without specification. The common people are unceasingly preached at about dictatorships, blind obedience, regimentation, etc., etc., by Stalin, Mussolini, and Hitler, but never a word about the inner relationship between their governments and their people; what is beneath all this, what are the people getting out of it all, or, what is more to the point, whether the people in these countries are, by and large, satisfied with what is given them.

Now if you gentlemen representing the cream of the intelligentsia will enlighten us on this proposition, I think your exhibitions along this line will have more point.

A. J. P., Montana

*

Gesundheit

Anti-German sentiment in all these countries is due to propaganda, corruption, economic pressure and a . . . . controlled press. But in the end . . . . only the blood will count and also the economic interests.

Persons who are informed and are free of prejudice are not surprised at all at the political and power-developments in Europe, and do not have to use such camouflaged words as "Trojan Horse" etc. They also know that the separated brothers and children will in due time return to the great family to which they have originally belonged. Such seems to be the law of nature. The tide is turning. The devilish British power-politics of "Balance of Power" to dismember nations, to disunite peoples, to exploit them, coerce them, and enslave them economically, politically, and also physically . . . . is fast nearing its . . . . end. Then . . . . PEACE ON EARTH.

E. G., Wisconsin

Britain Too

As an American citizen and a veteran of the World War may I inquire why you emphasize the danger from Germany almost to the exclusion of that from any other source? I learned from bitter experience twenty years ago of the danger of British and American war-hog propaganda which sent us into a great war.

I am opposed to German propaganda, but for the time, at least, it is much less dangerous to us than that of the British; for all the former is trying to do now is to keep us out of the war, while it is the obvious intent of the latter to drag us in—aided by a group of Americans who would profit by us being in.

We are a nation in ourselves and an Englishman is as much a foreigner to us as a German. I'm in favor of booting them both out along with such Americans as are more interested in the success of Germany or the British Empire than they are in the welfare of America and the lives of our sons.

A. E. W., Colorado

*

Election Caution

It interested me very much as a loyal American and common citizen. The question of how we can be sure that we are voting into places of power and responsibility true, loyal, patriotic citizens is one that will be of increasing importance as election day approaches. Honesty is of great importance but to put a man or woman into place of responsibility and power and then find our country sold out in "Trojan Horse" style would be tragic.

R. S. McW., Iowa

*

Local Trojan Horse

The Trojan Horse discussion was extremely interesting, especially as it indicated to me a knowledge of the factors and workings of the system in foreign countries, and lack of knowledge concerning our own country. Perhaps an old homely expression is the answer: people never see what is right under their noses.

My limited experience accords with the view that while the economic condition of the people is a factor, it is the upper class that is the moving force in the Trojan Horse system. It is there and with those in power that the motive is to be found.

J. D., Pennsylvania

*

"Unusual" Circumstances

I see by the footnote on page 6 of the May 5 (ROUND TABLE) transcript that Von Blomberg was killed last fall in Poland under "unusual" circumstances. They must have been—because a few weeks ago he and his wife were reported having a fine time in Java.*

E. K., Missouri

** The error in the transcript arose from confusion which accompanied the reporting of the death of Von Fritsch, in Poland, last fall. At that time it was rumored that Von Blomberg had died.*

TIMES HAVE CHANGED

(with daylight saving)

*

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO ROUND TABLE
IS BROADCAST NOW AT

2:30 P.M. Eastern Daylight Time

1:30 P.M. Eastern Standard Time

1:30 P.M. Central Daylight Time

12:30 P.M. Central Standard Time

11:30 A.M. Mountain Standard Time

10:30 A.M. Pacific Standard Time

over most of the stations of the Red Network of the
National Broadcasting Company

ROUND TABLE SUBSCRIPTION ORDER FORM

lease send the University of Chicago ROUND TABLE for:

☐ One Year ($2.00) ☐ Six Months ($1.00)

ame.....

ddress.....

ity..... State.....

] I am enclosing the correct amount

] Please send me a bill

FOREIGN: ONE YEAR, $3.00; SIX MONTHS, $1.50

TRANSCRIPT SUBSCRIPTIONS

ONE YEAR'S SUBSCRIPTION.....$2.00 SIX MONTHS'.....$1.00

FOR SINGLE COPIES OF THE BROADCASTS LISTED BELOW SEND TEN CENTS IN COIN TO THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO ROUND TABLE, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS. ANY FIVE PAST OR FUTURE BROADCASTS, 25 CENTS.

Nos.

1939

42. *The Economic Struggle for South America*
43. *America Arms—for What?*
44. *Is Security Increasing?*
45. *How Shall We Solve the Housing Problem?*
46. *Price Fixing*
47. *President vs. Congress*
48. *What Would Lincoln Think?*
50. *America's Neutrality Act*
51. *The Outlook for Europe*, Beneš, Wright, Schmitt
54. *The National Income*
55. *The Birth Rate and Business*
56. *Hitler's Economic Motives*
57. *"Room to Live!" Population Pressure and Aggression*
58. *America and the Next War*
59. *Have We Helped the Farmer?*
60. *Refugees*
61. *If Europe Paid Its Debts*
62. *Crisis in Coal*
63. *What Do You Mean—Americanism?*
64. *Russia and Europe*
65. *Freedom and the Economic System*
66. *The Place of Radio in a Democracy*
67. *Questions on Democracy*
68. *Our Liberties Today*
69. *Crisis in the Orient*
70. *Relief and the WPA*
71. *Out of School—Out of Jobs*
72. *The Line-up for 1940*
73. *Will England Save Hitler?*
74. *Is the Consumer Getting His Nickel's Worth?*
75. *Did Congress Revolt?*
76. *Europe on the Verge.* August 27
77. *War Comes.* September 3
78. *Will There Be a Blackout of Peace in America?* September 10

Nos.

79. *The High Cost of Living*
80. *What Will Congress Do?*
81. *How Will We Get Recovery?*
82. *Prosperity vs. Boom*
83. *International Law—What Is It?*
84. *The Economic War*
85. *What's the War All About?*
86. *Testing Public Opinion*
87. *After the Next Armistice—What?*
88. *Taxes*
89. *Propaganda*
90. *Russia Marches*
91. *Can Capitalism Survive the War?*
92. *Government and Business*
93. *When Tomorrow Comes*
94. *1939: Crisis Year*

1940

95. *Wages and Hours in the North and South*
96. *Is Our War News Accurate?*
97. *The Far East—Backdoor War?*
98. *The Jews*
99. *Economic War Between the States*
100. *Is Russia Losing in Finland?*
101. *Are Tariff Walls Blockading America?*
102. *War Myths*
103. *Economic Issue and 1940*
104. *Is America's Economic Frontier Closed?*
105. *Must the World Unite?*
106. *Can We Protect America?*
107. *The Census*
108. *The Archbishops Look at America*
109. *Scandinavia on the Spot*
110. *Third Term?*
111. *Where's that War Boom?*
112. *The Trojan Horse.* May 5

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO ROUND TABLE HAS WHAT IS PROBABLY THE LARGEST NETWORK OF ANY EDUCATIONAL BROADCAST. THE FOLLOWING STATIONS OF THE NATIONAL BROADCASTING COMPANY CARRY THE PROGRAM EACH SUNDAY:

City	Call Letters	Kilocycles	City	Call Letters	Kilocycles
2:30 P.M. EASTERN DAYLIGHT SAVING TIME					
Boston, Mass.	WNAC	1230	Providence, R.I.	WJAR	890
Buffalo, N.Y.	WBEN	900	Schenectady, N.Y.	WGY	790
New York, N.Y.	WEAF	660	Wilmington, Del.	WDEL	1120
Philadelphia, Pa.	KYW	1020	Worcester, Mass.	WTAG	580
Portland, Me.	WCSH	940			
1:30 P.M. EASTERN STANDARD TIME					
Allentown, Pa.	WSAN	1440	Jacksonville, Fla.	WJAX	900
Asheville, N.C.	WISE	570	Johnstown, Pa.	WJAC	1370
Baltimore, Md.	WFBR	1270	Lakeland, Fla.	WLAK	1310
Charleston, S.C.	WCSC	1360	Miami, Fla.	WIOD	610
Charlotte, N.C.	WSOC	1210	Raleigh, N.C.	WPTF	680
Cleveland, Ohio	WTAM	1070	Richmond, Va.	WMBG	1350
Columbia, S.C.	WIS	560	Rochester, N.Y.	WHAM	1150
Columbus, Ohio	WCOL	1210	St. Petersburg, Fla.	WSUN	620
Detroit, Mich.	WWJ	920	Tampa, Fla.	WFLA	620
Grand Rapids, Mich.	WOOD	1270	Washington, D.C.	WRC	950
Greenville, S.C.	WFBC	1300	Zanesville, Ohio	WHIZ	1210
1:30 P.M. CENTRAL DAYLIGHT SAVING TIME					
Chicago, Ill.	WMAQ	670			
12:30 P.M. CENTRAL STANDARD TIME					
Amarillo, Tex.	KGNC	1410	Milwaukee, Wis.	WTMJ	620
Birmingham, Ala.	WBRC	930	Minneapolis and		
Bismarck, N.D.	KFYR	550	St. Paul, Minn.	KSTP	1460
Duluth, Minn., and			Nashville, Tenn.	WSM	650
Superior, Wis.	WEBC	1290	New Orleans, La.	WSMB	1320
El Paso, Tex.	KTSM	1310	Oklahoma City, Okla.	WKY	900
Evansville, Ind.	WGBF	630	Omaha, Neb.	WOW	590
Fargo, N.D.	WDAY	940	Pittsburg, Kans.	KOAM	790
Jackson, Miss.	WJDX	1270	St. Cloud, Minn.	KFAM	1420
Kansas City, Mo.	WDAF	610	St. Louis, Mo.	KSD	550
Little Rock, Ark.	KARK	890	San Antonio, Tex.	WOAI	1190
Louisville, Ky.	WAVE	940	Shreveport, La.	KTBS	1450
Madison, Wis.	WIBA	1280	Terre Haute, Ind.	WBOW	1310
Mankato, Minn.	KYSM	1500	Wichita, Kans.	KANS	1210
11:30 A.M. MOUNTAIN STANDARD TIME					
Albuquerque, N.M.	KOB	1180	Phoenix, Ariz.	KTAR	620
Billings, Mont.	KGHL	780	Pocatello, Ida.	KSEI	900
Boise, Ida.	KIDO	1350	Pueblo, Colo.	KGHF	1320
Butte, Mont.	KGIR	1340	Salt Lake City, Utah	KDYL	1290
Denver, Colo.	KOA	830	Tucson, Ariz.	KVOA	1260
Helena, Montana	KPFA	1210	Twin Falls, Ida.	KTFI	1240
10:30 A.M. PACIFIC STANDARD TIME					
Bakersfield, Cal.	KERN	1370	San Diego, Cal.	KFSD	600
Fresno, Cal.	KMJ	580	San Francisco, Cal.	KPO	680
Los Angeles, Cal.	KFI	640	Seattle, Wash.	KOMO	920
Portland, Ore.	KGW	620	Spokane, Wash.	KHQ	590
Sacramento, Cal.	KFBK	1490	Stockton, Cal.	KWG	1200
STATIONS CARRYING ROUND TABLE BY TRANSCRIPTION					
Honolulu, T.H.	KGU	750k	9:00 P.M.		
Cincinnati, Ohio	WSAI	1330	8:30 P.M. EDST		

AMERICA and the PEACEMONGERS

•

A UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO ROUND TABLE BROADCAST

MAY 19, 1940

•

ROBERT KINTNER, columnist, co-author *American White Paper*

WALTER H. C. LAVES, Associate Professor of Political Science, the University of Chicago

(THIRD PARTICIPANT TO BE ANNOUNCED)

•

SUGGESTED READINGS

ALSOP, JOSEPH, and KINTNER, ROBERT, *American White Paper.* New York: Simon and Schuster, 1940.

COHN, D. L., "The Road Not Taken," *Atlantic,* March, 1940.

LINDBERGH, CHARLES A., "What Substitute for War?" *Atlantic,* March, 1940.

BIDWELL, PERCY W., "Where Our Interest Lies," *Atlantic,* March, 1940.

DAVIS, ELMER, "The War and America," *Harper's,* April, 1940.

[PRINTED IN U.S.A.]